Definitions for the following terms are taken from Diccionario de Americanismos by Augusto Malaret (Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, 1925).

chirimoya - the fruit of the chirimoyo tree, it is a berry, greenish outside, white inside, with black seeds
copal - a transparent and aromatic resin obtained from various species of the genus Hymenaea
nixtamal - maize cooked with ashes from whose dough tortillas are made
pericón - a plant, Tagetes lucida
pozole - a dish composed of cooked maize and pig entrails

aires - diseases caused by the evil spirits of the air
alabados - chants of praise
alabanza - sacred song of public ritual
Apaches - a group of religious dancers
arriero - men who own mules or horses and haul goods from the railway to the town
ayudante - assistant, a member of the municipal council
barrio - a ward, a semi-independent unit of a village which centers about a church and a patron saint
cacique - a single individual of personality and local prestige who ruled the community with the consent of public opinion
calpolli - pre-Columbian subdivision of the pueblo (perhaps originally a kinship unit)
calzones - loose white cotton trousers
canasta - a basket, shaped like an ordinary European market basket, with a handle
castillo - tower of fireworks
castiyohpa - the ceremony of payment of the offering or pledge to the santo, to be used for the tower of fireworks burned on the day of the fiesta of the santo
ceñidor - a sash about eight inches wide and six to ten feet long
cerahpa - the ceremony of payment of the offering or pledge to the santo, to be used for the candles burned before the santo on the day of the fiesta
cerriles - public pasture lands on wooded mountain sides (part of the communal lands of the pueblo)

Chinelos - masked men who "leap" during the carnival
chiquihuite - a basket without handles, which is stiff, as wide as it is deep, and coiled on splints
coa - flat iron hoe with the blade set parallel with the handle
cohetero - fireworks-maker
comal - griddle
comparsa - group of men organizing masked "leaping" (at the carnival)
consejo municipal - municipal council
corrales - yards at the back of dwellings sometimes planted with corn or beans
corrido - ballad
cuatequitl - co-operative labor
curandera - herb-doctor (usually a woman)
daño - the Evil Eye, lit. "the hurt," "the injury"
demarcación - a subdivision of the town under the municipal government (its boundaries do not agree with those of the barrio)
ejido - communal lands of the present pueblo - (composed of pastales and cerriles) used in common by all the people of the town
espanto - a strong emotional state treated as a disease
estrepaco - a little basket of maguey fiber containing a piece of soap (used in bathing)
huehuechihque - the man who receives the offering payments during the ceremonies of cerahpa and castiyohpa

Huehuenches - see Chinelos
juez - judge, a member of the municipal council
machete - steel knife with a curved tip
mañanita - secular song of private ritual
mayordomo - steward of the santo of the barrio [mayordomo of the candles,
" " " castillo (fireworks)]
metate - three-legged grinding-stone
milpa - a small agricultural tract cultivated by an individual for his own benefit
milpas de labor - agricultural lands reduced to private possession and tillage out of the public lands (they often embrace considerable areas and may be cultivated year after year.)
mohina - a strong emotional state treated as a disease
molcajete - a small andesite mortar
mole - highly spiced sauce served with pieces of boiled meat
mole verde - mole served usually with beef
mole poblano - turkey mole
músicos viejos - old orchestra - four older men who know the traditional music - they play chiefly ritual music
new orchestra - young men who play "modern" pieces
olla - a type of pot

partera - midwife
pastales - public pasture lands on arid slopes (part of the communal lands of the pueblo)
Pastores - boys who come to sing traditional songs on Christmas Eve
petate - a straw mat
presidente - chief officer of the municipal council
rebozo - a sort of shawl worn over the head and upper body; one end is drawn across the breast and thrown back over the left shoulder
sacamisa - the first mass the child is taken to, about 30 or 40 days after birth
santo - a sacred effigy, specifically the image of a Christian saint housed in a church
sitios - house sites
sombrero - straw hat
tamale - maize dough boiled in corn husks
temazcal - sweathouse
templo major - the great central church
teponaztli - pre-Columbian wooden drum, a horizontal wooden double-slotted drum
tlacololli - similar to milpas de labor, in that they are agricultural lands reduced to private possession and tillage out of the public lands, but they are small tracts of cleared land on steep mountain sides and may be tilled only one or a few seasons
toros - a sort of rustic bullfight

tortas - vegetables, potatoes, etc., which are ground, mixed with egg, fried, and served with chile

veterano - a distinguished military leader, possessing heroic qualities, who has become legendary, even mythical

Zapatista - one who fought with the guerrilla army of Emiliano Zapata, the principal leader of the southern revolutionary movement against Carranza, during the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920

zarape - a garment worn by men either as a blanket wrapped around the shoulders and held together with one arm, or as a poncho in which the head passes through an opening in the center; serape

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the house. The roof of this porch is supported by columns; there may be an arch or two. The roof may be peaked. The porch (*corredor*), and perhaps also the house, has a brick floor. There are several windows; some of these contain iron grilles. The walls are plastered and perhaps tinted.

However mean or however important, the house is ornamented by a number of flowering plants, usually potted in oilcans, and stood outside the house on a rack.

The tripartite house division into *sala*, kitchen and storehouse, emphasized by Bandelier[1] and well illustrated by Starr,[2] is not always clearly marked. Sometimes the kitchen is merely a flimsy lean-to against the house, or is in a corner of the *corredor*, or is even in a corner of the single room. But more often it is a separate room or even an entirely separate structure.

The storehouse (S. *troje*)[3] is practically always present, and is usually placed immediately in front of the dwelling. It occurs in three forms, all of which are probably of entirely pre-Columbian design. The *ohuatlapil* (N. *ohuatlapilli*) is most common. This is circular, about six feet high and of varying diameter; it is made of vertical cornstalks bound together with rope. It contains maize on the cob (S. *mazorca*). Also made to contain *mazorca* is the *cincolote* (N. *zincolohli*). This is square, of poles laid horizontally, one pair upon

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

[2] Frederick Starr, *Indians of Southern Mexico, An Ethnographic Album* (Chicago, 1899), Plates XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII.

[3] "S." indicates term used in Spanish discourse; "N.," term used in Nahuatl discourse.

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NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

646 Disregarding such occasional foreigners in the political personnel, one may say that the municipal council is expressive rather than active. It maintains prestige, presides at public meetings, and receives the salutations of visitors. Actual work, as, for example, the 565 665 installation of a lamp in the *plaza*, the exploitation of marketable wild roots on the public lands, or the promotion of the secular celebrations, is done by the small group of townspeople who are richer, better educated, and more accustomed to city ways than others. These men are the shopkeepers and many of the artisans. They are *los correctos*—the "correct" people—as contrasted with *los tontos*[1]—the "ignorant" [291] people. The former wear shoes and dark trousers; the latter, sandals and white trousers. The personnel of the municipal government now tends to be drawn from *los tontos*, while *los correctos* constitute the influential citizens who occupy the other half of the platform at public meetings but who regard politics with something akin to disdain. Politics, therefore, is enjoyed by the same element in the population that organizes the religious *fiestas*, and, like these, constitutes a form of play.

● [104] [1] It may be stated, perhaps unnecessarily, that these two terms (*tontos* and *correctos*) are used in the following pages not in their original Spanish meanings, but merely to designate two groups in Tepoztlán that are sometimes so designated by the people themselves, and that lack other convenient names.

aires - mysterious forces, variously thought of as winds, spirits, or little people who may cause illness
ayuntamiento - local government administration
cacique - applied to anyone who opposed the Revolution
carga - about 213 pounds
chipilez - jealousy, an important childhood illness which begins when the mother of the child again becomes pregnant; it may also affect young husbands when their wives become pregnant for the first time
chirimía - a primitive wind instrument, a small flageolet
chirimitero - a man who plays the traditional music on the chapel roofs at fiestas in celebration of the saints. He is not considered a musician
cofradía - a religious brotherhood or sisterhood, a confraternity
compadrazgo - a system which involves two sets of relationships between non-relatives: one between spiritual godparents (padrinos) and their godchildren (ahijados), the other between the parents and the godparents (compadres)
consuegros - a special relationship between parents of the husband and wife
cuartillo - one-tenth of a hectare, also a measure equal to two liters
cuate - a type of friendship among men and youths of the same age group
cultos - educated, once referred to the literate but now applied primarily to professional persons or those who are intelligent and well informed
danzantes - temporary religious functionaries who dance in honor of the barrio saint
ejidatarios - those who hold ejido parcels
ejido lands - lands communally owned by the municipio, which have been divided into small plots and assigned to individuals. These may remain in the same family for many years but cannot be sold

espanto - or fright, an illness which leaves children sad and pale
gremio - a religious society
huehuechique - a man who knows the traditional Nâhuatl words and ritual in the ceremonies which form part of the fiestas for the saints; a type of limosnero who can say Catholic prayers in Nâhuatl and who collects money for the New Year
hijos de caciques - descendants of the "best" families of prerevolutionary days
limosnas - church contributions or taxes
limosneros - permanent religious functionaries who collect the church taxes or contributions
mayordomos - religious leaders of the barrios, or of the chapels of the seven surrounding villages, who are important functionaries in connection with religious fiestas; there are also several mayordomos in charge of certain images or of organizing religious pilgrimages
muina - an illness, caused by anger, in which aggression is apparently turned inward against the self causing loss of appetite, vomiting and very often death
monte - the mountainous and heavily wooded area north of Tepoztlan
novio - sweetheart

ocote - pine, Pinus patula
políticos - local leaders who are active in politics
principales - ruling families in pre-Columbian period
proprietarios - those who own private land
revolucionario - anyone who works for the government party in power
rezandero - a man who makes a vocation of religion by memorizing many prayers and hiring himself out to intone these prayers for others on special occasions. - he is not recognized as a religious functionary by the church
sacamisa - the Mass said for a mother forty days after the birth of a child
tepexco - a raised bed of bamboo sticks tied together and placed on a wooden frame
tequitlatos - officials who spoke for the barrio, who may also have been leaders of labor groups
tlacolol - hoe culture
tlacololeros - those who work communal lands
toloache - an herb said to contain a drug which will affect the brain; the most commonly feared sorcery, in Tepoztlan is a potion made from this herb

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

political, and judicial functions of the *calpolli* fell into desuetude. But the social and religious functions, conflicting with none of the Spanish forms, and coinciding in some measure with the current Spanish notion of a church parish, continued in Tepoztlán, as no doubt in other *pueblos*, to this day."

The evidence cited by Redfield in support of this speculation is a portion of a recitation in Náhuatl which reads, "Here I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills, seven wells and seven stony hillsides." From this Redfield concludes, "This is clearly a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*." [11] This interpretation is not acceptable, since the seven barrios are not each associated with a stony hillside. Nor does each barrio have its own well.

While there can be no doubt that the village is pre-Hispanic, I believe that the present-day layout with its barrio divisions is almost certainly post-Conquest. This conclusion is based primarily upon an analysis of sixteenth-century documents in which the seven barrios are not mentioned, and is partially confirmed by local tradition and some recent archaeological work. These sources suggest that before the Spanish Conquest the village was much more spread out, with numerous small population clusters settled along the valley near the *cerros* where there was an adequate water supply. In a document of 1580,[12] we find that the seat of the village was at a site called *Tetlán*, a site which is known today as being outside of the village limits, to the west. When the road to Cuernavaca was being built in 1935 and 1936, ceramic deposits and other evidence of habitation were unearthed at this spot. In the map (Fig. 16), I have located a number of sites which show some evidence of having been inhabited and which are believed to be pre-Hispanic settlement sites. Some of these sites are mentioned in a document of 1550 which gives the *sitios* and *estancias* which paid tribute to Tepoztlán. I have identified many of these house site names within the village today, but others are known only as the names of sites out in the fields and near the *cerros* as shown in Fig. 16. Still others could not be identified at all.

On the basis of this evidence, it is suggested that the Spaniards brought together the population clusters from the outlying settlements to control the people and to facilitate taxation.[13] That this was a general Spanish policy is clear from other sources.[14] A few informants felt certain that this is what had happened in

[11] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 76–77.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[12] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Relación de la Villa de Tepuztlan* in *Papeles de Nueva España*, Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística, Tomo VI (Madrid, 1905), p. 244—this valuable document will be referred to as *Relación* in the pages that follow. It is one of our best sources for the culture of Tepoztlán prior to the Spanish Conquest. It was prepared in 1580 by village officials with the aid of Tepoztecan informants, in response to a questionnaire sent out to all villagers of New Spain by Philip II.

[13] In a document—*Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100—dated March 2, 1551, we find a complaint, made by an investigator sent to Tepoztlán by the *corregidor*, to the effect that there were still some outlying "barrios" not listed in the Tepoztlán census. It was explained that this was done by the natives to cheat the government of taxes.

[14] See Dan Stanislowski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review*, 37 (1947), 94-105.